

**THE FASCIST
REVIVAL.. the
inside story of
the JOHN BIRCH
SOCIETY .. who is in it?
who is behind it? who directs
and finances it?**

By MIKE NEWBERRY

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THE FASCIST
REVIVAL THE
INSIDE STORY OF THE JOHN
BIRCH SOCIETY

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THE INSIDE STORY OF THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

By MIKE NEWBERRY

1. *Rifles in the Cellar*

IN THE RECREATION ROOM in the cellar of a suburban home on Long Island several men are drinking beer.

Saturday night. High jinks and jokes and "the boys" feel happy. It seems, at first sight, like a typical weekend party. Originally the recreation room was built for the children of the host, an advertising man, and there are children's toys in the corner under the color TV. On the bar, beside the beer glasses, is a doll.

At the feet of the doll is a book, *The John Franklin Letters*, open to the chapter, "Thank God (for) the National Rifle Association."

"Let's get started," the host hiccups.

The bleery guests line up at one end of the recreation room. Rifles are in their fists.

One by one they begin target practice, rifles wobbly, and the cork ceiling muffles the shots in the night. The revelers of Saturday night are shooting at a photo of Chief Justice Earl Warren of the U.S. Supreme Court, hung on the target. Cheers ring out when a shot pierces the eye of the photo.

Fantastic! Insanity! Madness!

No, these gentlemen of suburbia are merely obeying the latest advice of the John Birch Society.

It is all detailed in the best-seller of what Senator Barry Goldwater coyly calls "the conservative revival," but which might be more accurately called "the fascist revival." It is the book they have been reading, titled *The John Franklin Letters*.

The book is a manual of arms.

It tells how a "patriotic," "underground army" will be formed to overthrow the U.S. Government. It is very matter of fact. "How much is fiction only time will tell," says its blurb.

The Bookmailer, its publisher, a leading distributor of anti-Semitic and hate literature, boasts that the book was written at its own request by "two former U.S. Government intelligence officers."

It is a "best seller" in Birch Society circles. Lyle Munson, head of The Bookmailer, is described by Robert Welch, fuehrer of the Birch Society, as "a good friend of mine."

Boasting of a world-wide sales apparatus that "extends to 109 countries as well as all 50 states," and includes U.S. Embassies and military bases, the Bookmailer reports that the book's "sales have been increasing every month since its publication," reaching several hundred copies a week.

What are *The John Franklin Letters* all about?

Here is a weird and frightening tale of how "liberals," "Marxists," "union men," "sub-human savages" of Negroes and Puerto Ricans, and the "Supreme Court," betray America to the United Nations "bureaucrats."

Civil war actually began, says the book, in 1958 when "the many vicious and dangerous ones among the Negroes and Puerto Ricans" engineered "attacks on the police." "We already have a condition of civil war in our large northern cities . . . and almost all of those who cause trouble are Negro and Puerto Rican."

Whipping up this racism to a feverish pitch, the book purports to foretell how "white" citizens will be deported to "slavery in Africa." Laws will be passed making race hate a crime. "Vile mobs" of Negroes will loot the cities and drop atom bombs on all who resist the "Anti-Fascist People's Democracy" that is voted into power.

"Patriotic" guerrilla gangs of "bandits" will then have to be formed, says *The John Franklin Letters*, who will train to

assassinate, sabotage, and overthrow this "People's Democracy." It goes on to outline just how these "bandits," called "The Rangers," will function.

"You will want to know how we propose to fight this with an American underground. First and foremost, we will be a military organization," it says.

"We will have, certainly, a great number of trained soldiers from our formal military forces . . . thousands of trained men and caches of weapons. Sporting weapons and homemade weapons will be used."

How will they operate? "Construct carefully a framework of courage and trust with your tested friends. Know minutely what the selected task for each is to be when the time comes to strike." *The John Franklin Letters* advises; and remember, "the basic doctrine (is) partisan warfare. . . . Concealment, ability to live off the country, extreme caution at all times, woodcraft, ability to judge terrain and above all use terrain—the base of it all is simple, small-unit, infantry warfare . . . HIT AND RUN!"

The John Franklin Letters then adds the chilling lines:

In an age of atomic and intercontinental weapons, that hidden private firearm is the arsenal of ultimate victory, we all agree."

*"Have a Blessed Christmas! Hurriedly,
John Franklin."*

The incredible call to prepare for "partisan warfare" is echoed by the pro-nazi, anti-Semitic *American Mercury*, now owned by The Defenders of the Christian Faith, founded by Rev. Winrod, an indicted pro-Nazi seditionist. It is circulating a pamphlet, *Should You Own a Gun?*, illustrated with a revolver, that declares, of course, "you should"; in fact "you must"!

Robert Welch's mouthpiece of the John Birch Society, in a laudatory review of *The John Franklin Letters*, recommended that its secret clubs stock up on the book.

"Brilliant" work, wrote Welch's *American Opinion*, for it "conveys information about techniques of survival that he (the reader)

may need to know *someday soon*." (Emphasis added.)

So if the suburbanites we have been describing put aside their beer glasses and take up rifles on a Saturday night they are merely following the instructions of their fuehrer. How many Birch Society clubs, I wonder, engage in such activities? How many fanatics of "the fascist revival" have rifles in their cellars?

2. *Inside the Birch Society*

"THE INHERENT EVIL of democracy," writes Professor Revilo P. Oliver, a leading propagandist of the Birch Society and a member of its National Council, is that of the "numerical majority."

"Democracy has often been tried and always found wanting," he says. "So long as it remains democracy, in the strict sense of the word, it may become chronically foolish." Writing his "scholarly" epitaph for the democratic way of life in the Birch Society's house organ, *American Opinion*, (April, 1961), Professor Oliver says: "Democracy ruined Athens—of that there can be no doubt."

What does he propose? He advocates a "Roman Republic" for our country, such as existed in the time of Caesar.

America "is still legally a republic (not a democracy) and we had better make sure that it is one in fact," he writes, and concludes:

"If that is not possible then we have nothing to look forward to but a Caesar, and nothing to work for but the hope that he may be as decent a man as can attain power in the circumstances. . . ."

Who is this Caesar-loving professor?

Revilo P. Oliver is "the philosopher of American fascism." He is an intimate co-worker of Robert Welch, fuehrer of the Birch Society, and he is one of the "inner circle." He is a frequent contributor to the *American Mercury*, where he keeps company with George Deathrage, exponent of "Constitutional Fascism" and one

of Hitler's top propagandists, and Robert Edward Edmundson, Goebbels' chief purveyor of anti-Semitism in the United States. In keeping with the *Mercury's* shrill brand of racism, "The Professor" recently wrote in its pages that Marxism was really invented by "the barbarous monarchies of the early Orient" and the "Illuminati" of European Jews. Elsewhere, Oliver has called Cuba "an island inhabited largely by mongols" (Congress of Freedom, April 9, 1959, Colorado Springs, Colorado) which gives you an idea of his "philosophy."

Like many Birch Society organizers and propagandists, Professor Oliver shuttles back and forth between the lunatic fringe of hysteria and the "respectable" fascists of big business.

Thomas Anderson, a Birch Society National Council member, and Rodney Gilbert, an editor of the *Birchite American Opinion*, are also regular writers for the *American Mercury*. So too is J. B. Matthews, a co-worker and close friend of fuehrer Robert Welch; he was fired from his governmental witch-hunting job for out-McCarthying McCarthy. Reverend Richard Ginder, another National Council official of the Birch Society, not to be outdone, in the *American Mercury* of May, 1960, declared openly that the United States should have joined forces with Hitler by accepting the Nazi negotiated peace offered by Von Papen in 1943, and launched a holy war against the Soviet Union. The Nazis, wrote Reverend Ginder, should have been our "allies."

If the upper echelons of the big businessmen who run the Birch Society try to keep their hands clean of this filth, in public at least, their errand boys and handymen do the dirty work for them. The secret, authoritarian Birch Society is in the hands of men playing with fascism.

Clubs of the Birch Society are tightly-controlled, security-screened, dictatorial units set up in key cities of the country.

"The Elite" of each community compose these clubs. Members are selected from the business, church, police, military, and political officialdom of the town, who could, and often do, control community affairs, and who meet in secret in private homes, with all the conspiratorial trappings of a grade Z movie.

In the *John Birch Bulletin* of October, 1960, fuehrer Welch,

while denying that his is a secret society, tells his members: "It is our aim . . . not to create noise. We avoid general publicity as well as we can."

Politically, the aim of "The Elite" of the Birch Society is to build an interlocking directory of local political power. Where it has been successfully set up, and it has succeeded in some communities, these behind-the-scenes forces hope to manipulate local life, within the democratic framework ("Constitutional Fascism"?) which will make democracy merely a charade.

They seek to seize local political power, then control the political machinery in the State, and finally in Washington, D. C.

Seeking to pull off this "smoke-filled room coup d'etat" the Birch Society has recruited an estimated 100,000 members of "The Elite" in 50 states, and within the Government itself. Welch runs his quasi-military group like a dictator. He and his Birch Society permit no elections, no voting, and no democratic procedures.

How does the Birch Society differ from old fashioned right-wing groups?

"One of the reasons the Society has been so effective is that this is the first coordinated conservative effort toward one objective," says *The West Texan Citizen*, a Birchite newssheet. *"Robert Welch has given an effective blueprint,"* it says, and adds: *"The success of the Society can be attributed to (this) well coordinated effort."*

Those who join the Birch Society "enlist for the duration," says the *John Birch Bulletin* of February, 1961, for "we (Birch members) must become the 'marines' of the 'armed forces' carrying the brunt of the most aggressive battles."

"Our weapons are facts, not hand grenades," the *Birch Bulletin* cautions, "but our enemy is entrenched, powerful, vicious, and doubly armed with machine guns (etc.). . . . This is one reason why we tell the timorous and half-hearted they will not be happy in the John Birch Society."

"No pink tea-sipping band of timid souls," was how *Dallas Morning News* writer, Lynn Landrum, described the Birchites.

How the secret society operates was detailed by the Texas

reporter in a concise summary of *The Blue Book*, Welch's private "political guide" for Birch Society clubs. *The Blue Book*, wrote Landrum, offers a complete program of activity which begins innocently enough:

- "1. Establish reading rooms.
- "2. Circulate conservative literature.
- "3. Increase radio programs such as feature Fulton Lewis, Clarence Manion, etc.
- "4. Letter-writing campaigns.
- "5. *Organize fronts*, committees, etc., to fight communism.
- "6. Shock the public by publishing leading questions aimed at pinko college presidents, Red clergymen, etc.
- "7. *Go to pinko meetings prepared to raise an uproar* by entering the question and answer period. . . .
- "8. Form speakers bureaus.
- "9. *Extend the John Birch Society abroad.*
- "10. *Put the weight of John Birch members into the political scales."*

"This man Welch is a formidable man," the *Dallas Morning News* reporter wrote of the Birch Society fuehrer. "He is no McCarthy from the wrong side of the tracks. He is polished and vocal. But he is no crackpot. He is dedicated to the proposition that *any way* to smash communism is a good way, *no matter how precious the incidental debris may be.*"

The "incidental debris" that the Birch Society would leave in its wake is democracy.

Democracy, it seems, is the prime enemy of the Birch Society. It is not merely that democracy is "foolish," as Professor Oliver, the philosopher of the right, has said, but that it is an obstacle to their aggressive war program. To fight this war, Senator Barry Goldwater, the political leader of the right, has said, we will have to "sacrifice" democracy. "Democracy has no vision, no fulfillment, no point of arrival," William Buckley, the theoretician of the Right, has said, but is "the liberal's obsession." He says bluntly,

"I, for one, would not be willing to die for 'democracy' . . ."

Says Robert Welch, the organizer of the Right, democracy is merely "a deceptive phrase, a weapon of demagoguery, and a perennial fraud."

It is not easy publicly and openly to attack democracy, as these Birchites do privately. Besides it would be political suicide.

So the Birch Society hides its anti-democratic belief within an "anti-Communist" program.

Using the shabby, old Trojan Horse of "anti-Communism," Robert Welch, in his *American Opinion* shouts: "Communist influences are now in almost complete working control of our Government. The U.S. Government itself is today, and for the past many years has been, the most powerful and important force promoting the world-wide Communist advance."

"Washington is pushing the Marxist program as diligently and as rapidly as it dares," Welch says.

It is interesting that it was during the G.O.P. Administration of President Eisenhower, in February, 1960, that this charge of "Communist control" of our government was made. According to the Birch Society it is not *who* runs the government, but the *form* of government—constitutional democracy—that is part of "the international conspiracy" and therefore must be "sacrificed."

Was Eisenhower a "Communist"? Is Supreme Court Chief Justice Warren a "Communist"? Of course, replies the Birch Society. They, shrieks the *American Opinion*, are all part of "the same plot."

Such nonsense may bewilder the layman. Just what "plot" are they talking about. Ah, but to the fascist-minded this "plot" is as clear as the paranoia of Hitler. For it is "the international conspiracy" that President Roosevelt "promoted" (*American Opinion*); it is the "treason by which the 'Rothschild-Rockefeller axis' of 'Jewish Marxist bankers' control both 'Moscow and Washington' (*American Mercury*): it is a modern, Americanized version of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*."

The irrational hysterics of the Right has however its rational political basis.

Hitler originated the "anti-Communist" or "Anti-Comintern

Axis." Why do fascists always use this as their main propaganda weapon. There is method to their political madness. It is more than mere demagoguery. By blacklisting, persecuting, and jailing "Communists," the legal precedent and political foundation is established for the destruction of the liberties and the rights of the whole people and the path to fascism is cleared of its first obstacle—democracy.

It is the "numerical majority," not the "minority," that Professor Oliver, and his Birch Society fuehrer, are really after.

Thus, those who advocate "legal" and "respectable" "anti-Communism," in "the national interest," or whatever other interest, vested or unvested, deliver not only the "Communists," but themselves into the hands of the fascists. Liberals and conservatives will then be labelled "Communist" by the Birch Society and, in fact, are being so labelled already.

If then "anti-Communism" is the first line of attack of a fascist offensive, then the defense of the rights of the Communists is the first line of defense of democracy. Democracy cannot defeat "the fascist revival" by retreating.*

The political madness of the Birch Society is being organized into a political movement by some of the country's top McCarthyites. Among them is Medford Evans, former "Security Chief" of the Atomic Energy Commission and editor of *Facts Forum*, millionaire Texas oilman H. L. Hunt's propaganda remnant of McCarthy's heyday. He is a leading "Co-ordinator" of the Birch Society and one of its backroom bosses.

Another leading propagandist and favorite of the Birch Society is Dan Smoot, a "former" FBI man (*Blue Book of the John Birch Society*, p. 80). Smoot was J. Edgar Hoover's Administrative Assistant in the FBI National Office, and retired from the FBI to help direct the McCarthyite *Facts Forum*, before, like his co-worker, Evans, joining the Birchite movement.

Fuehrer Welch has surrounded himself with the brains of America's militarist, rightist, and racist groups.

* Sad to say, since this was written the U. S. Supreme Court has given its legal approval to the Subversive Activity Control Board's inquisition of the Communist Party, thus giving the McCarthyites a more dangerous anti-democratic weapon than McCarthy ever had!

His success, in some states, can be judged by former Vice President Richard Nixon's need to condemn the "subversion" of this secretive movement which was "subverting" his own leadership and had nearly seized control of the California Republican Party machine.

Day by day, the Birch Society clubs work to gain control of the Republican Party, one of their prime objectives, in state by state. In Texas, where they have growing strength, the Birchites have succeeded in electing candidates they supported in the primaries of both the Republican and Democratic Parties.

In the Congress of the United States a few members have admitted membership in, or openly endorsed, the Birch Society. But this hides, rather than reveals, their true followers.

There would be "a lot of embarrassed people" in Congress, Senator Goldwater has said, if the true membership of the Birch Society were known. He personally knew of "liberal Democrats as well as conservative Republicans" who belonged to the secret society, *The New York Times* reported. Who these clandestine members were he did not say.

To this Senator Humphrey, of Minnesota, replied:

"Some of the 'best people' praised Hitler and Mussolini, too." And he warned that those fascists "rose to power raising the cry of anti-communism, but they were anti-people, anti-freedom, and anti-democracy."

Let's take a closer look at who are these "best people" who are "anti-people."

3. *Father and Son*

The National Association of Manufacturers was holding its annual conference.

On the banquet tables of the Waldorf-Astoria's Grand Ballroom in New York was an epicurean feast of canapes, caviar, and champagne. Flushed of face and with a glint in their eyes, the goodly-sized manufacturers laughed and joked and camaraderie

was high. Wine, women and who-knows-what were in the offing.

However, at the moment, there was serious business at hand.

Solemnly, the big businessmen became quiet. The highest tribunal of corporate wealth was about to bestow its most honored award on one of its Grand Old Man. A respectful awe silenced the noisy crowd as a benign Chicago banker and manufacturer, Cola G. Parker, rose to the rostrum to accept the plaque that named him the "N.A.M. MAN OF THE YEAR."

Cola G. Parker was indeed the Grand Old Man of the N.A.M. He had been the top executive of the big business group for years. He was former Chairman, former President, former head of its Executive Committee, and former head of its powerful Finance Committee. He was "Mr. N.A.M."

Yet, he was now "retiring."

That is, Cola G. Parker, the "N.A.M. MAN OF THE YEAR," was "retiring" to the National Council of the John Birch Society!

In the inner circle of the Birch Society Council "Mr. N.A.M." would soon meet three other Past Presidents of the N.A.M., two Vice Presidents, and a dozen N.A.M. directors.

It would be like Old Home Week. For the N.A.M. is to the Birch Society as father is to son.

Consider, if you will, a Missouri businessman with the unlikely name of F. Gano Chance, who is a Past President of the N.A.M., who is on the National Council of the Birch Society, and who is one of the most active leaders of both.

Still another N.A.M. President on the Birch Society Council is William J. Grede, the Milwaukee foundry millionaire, who triples in brass as Trustee of the Birchite "Freedom School."

Martin J. Connor, III, a N.A.M. Vice President, and E. G. Swigert, a fourth N.A.M. President, both are on the Editorial Advisory Board of the Birch Society's magazine, *American Opinion*. There they sit beside Parker, Chance, Grede, helping to edit one of the most hysterically fascist publications in the United States.

These big businessmen undoubtedly feel quite at home in the inner circles of John Birchism, for Robert Welch was himself a N.A.M. Vice President.

Why are there four Past Presidents of the N.A.M. in the leadership of the Birch Society? What do these big businessmen seek in this version of American fascism? Is there a hidden tie-up between the N.A.M. and the Birch Society? What is the connection?

It all began back in December, 1959, at the Waldorf-Astoria conference where Cola G. Parker was feted. It was at that conference that the N.A.M. launched its campaign to "get businessmen into politics" and to have corporations take "direct action" in political battles.

No more pussyfooting! That was the expression heard in business circles, for that was the year when Soviet Premier Khrushchev had come to the United States on his mission of peaceful co-existence, and the war profiteers had been scared by nightmares of peace. That was the year of the "Spirit of Camp David."

In that year, too, the highlight of the N.A.M. gathering was a session on "direct action" in "Corporate Politics," which was curiously chaired by Martin J. Connor, III, the Birch Society leader and head of the Southern States Industrial Council.

How politics was to be taken out of the hands of the politicians was detailed for the attentive executives by B. L. Orell, Vice President of the Weyerhaeuser Lumber empire, who proclaimed that "public affairs is part of the management function." "Immediate steps" must be taken, he said. Of these, the first, was the assigning of a "top level" corporate officer to political work. "Seminars" in "political action" must then be organized. But "with time of the essence" he cautioned that the rank and file worker be by-passed and the elite among management, "a selected" group of those "in the supervisory levels and higher," be chosen for this "direct action."

This is exactly how the John Birch Society clubs of "the elite" were organized by the N.A.M. officials who masterminded its network.

And, in fact, one of the first steps of "the fascist revival" was to establish a school, the "Freedom School," in Colorado Springs, Colorado, where it holds seminars in "Economics for Executives." Tuition for these ten-day seminars is \$350. The teachers of its

"hard hitting course" include such top executives as Elwood P. Smith, a General Motors official, who is a Director of Training at Chevrolet; Roland Holmes, a Boeing Aircraft official; Percy L. Greaves, former financial editor of the *U.S. News and World Report*, and such rightist propagandists as Edwin McDowell, an editor of the *Birchite American Opinion*, and Frank Chodorov, an editor of the *National Review*.

"The school is particularly designed," says its brochure, "for the enrollment of businessmen, executives, branch managers, department heads, and others." "Students" include a large percentage of corporation personnel directors, who Mr. Orell, in his N.A.M. speech, recommended be assigned to "political work."

"Education must be converted into action," the lumber official told the N.A.M.; and it must be "Direct action in local, state, and national affairs."

He emphasized that "action requires intense effort" and that "other organizations" should be used besides the N.A.M.

Since "any program conceived as a negative counter movement . . . is destined to fail," Mr. Orell warned. He advocated the "positive" program of the N.A.M. be the basis for this "direct action." The rest of the N.A.M. conference devoted itself to this "positive" program of the "inevitability" of war, with speeches by CIA chief Allen Dulles and Civil Defense head Leo Heogh, and the usual anti-labor fulminations, including attacks on all the social legislation of the last thirty years.

This, too, dovetails with the Birch Society program.

Senator Barry Goldwater, in a speech to the N.A.M. the following year, re-emphasized this by saying "the attempts of the last thirty years to solve our crises by unnatural means have not worked."

The rootin'-tootin' reactionary from Arizona and the idol of the Birchites dotted "i's" and crossed the eyes of his N.A.M. audience (who gave him a standing ovation) by calling for an end to Federal aid to education, the aged, the farmers, and practically everyone else.

By God, "sacrifices," cried Goldwater, are needed to "protect our free enterprise" from the "Communist threat." Of "the aged"?

("Private property and individual liberty are inseparable," the Birch Society quotes Goldwater as saying, in *American Opinion*, April, 1961).

Just what "sacrifices" the Senator had in mind he made clear in "A Foreign Policy for America," printed in the *National Review*, of March 25, 1961. To "defeat the threat of world Communism," Goldwater wrote, we must be prepared to "sacrifice"—"Peace, Freedom, Justice and Prosperity."

War is what he advocated these "sacrifices" for, and his N.A.M. listeners thus gave him a standing ovation, being I guess, quite happy to sacrifice everyone else's way of life to preserve their own. In his *National Review* outburst, where Goldwater lays it on the line, he wrote: "We should encourage the captive peoples to revolt" and "We must be ourselves prepared to undertake military operations against vulnerable Communist regimes." This includes the sending of "a highly mobile task force equipped with appropriate nuclear weapons to the scene of the revolt," even if this means "total destruction."

Yes, Goldwater is ready to "sacrifice"—YOU!

His "Foreign Policy for America" is being sold by the *National Review*, in orders of 5,000 or more copies, to N.A.M. and Birch Society industrialists.

"I am not knocking love," Goldwater told the N.A.M. in his cajoling war cry, but imperialists aren't loved, he added; "I don't remember anyone loving England."

Peaceful coexistence cannot be defeated by "love," Goldwater said. "The United States," he told the N.A.M. had better "quit grovelling on its knees to inferior people." And he was "drowned out by applause."

Such is the "direct action" that these N.A.M. leaders, through their offspring, the Birch Society, seek to accomplish.

It is the "direct action" of desperate men, frustrated by the defeat of State Department policy at every wrong turn, and frightened by the "threat" of peace. Thus, these N.A.M. leaders helped establish the Birch Society. Thus, these N.A.M. leaders replied to Premier Khrushchev's offer of coexistence. Thus, these N.A.M. leaders pour millions into financing "the fascist revival."

The Wall Street Journal reports the complaint of the Republican Party's national office that its "wealthy contributors" are forsaking it to support "the Birchite groups."

These big businessmen are not crackpots.

In fact, there is nothing crack-potted or lunatic-fringed about the calculating and carefully planned Birch Society. However wild-eyed may be the hysterical statements of some of its "front" men, those behind-the-scenes have their eyes focused on exactly what they want.

These N.A.M. leaders are among the top representatives of the business community. Internationally, they have been the spokesmen and ambassadors of big business. National Council member of the Birch Society, Cola G. Parker, has served as "American Employer delegate" to the International Labor Organization, in Geneva, while W. L. McGrath, who is on the Editorial Board of the Birch Society *American Opinion*, is a member of the Governing Board of the I.L.O. Both these men, in these positions, have represented the entire American business community, and presumably have spoken for it.

Such men are accustomed to and capable of national and international planning. They are not small-time operators. They are not interested in fly-by-night political groups.

These business leaders become active in a political movement, like the Birch Society, because those they represent have decided that they do so. They will use their vast influence, resources, and financial wealth to achieve their goals.

The success of the Birch Society could not have been possible without these leaders of the N.A.M.

4. CIA "Fronts"?

CIA "FRONTS" ARE IN YOUR TOWN!

"From my office here in Manhattan, I can walk in twenty minutes to at least a dozen CIA front activities," write the former-CIA authors of *The John Franklin Letters*. "More than half (of these) exercise influence on domestic opinion—in plain talk, on

the voters in this country. Some of these operate, in theory, on money 'contributed' by public spirited individuals (but) they get the boodle from the CIA. The crux of the matter is not that CIA is routing taxpayers' money through these foundations to its fronts—but rather that these fronts are targeting their activities, in varying degrees, on the population of the United States."

"You see CIA personnel is pretty much like the proverbial iceberg," *The John Franklin Letters* explain, "the big percentage is below the surface. And they're paid under pseudonyms, carried on front organization payrolls, or receive 'expense cash' for which they sign a phony receipt."

How many of these CIA "fronts" are involved in, and what part they play in, "the fascist revival," is an interesting question.

There is no question, however, about the flamboyant role that open, bombastic and powerful "retired" Generals, Admirals, and lesser officers of Intelligence and CIA, who strut about like cocks of the walk, have assumed in the Birch Society and its "fronts." There are enough military men in the leadership of "the fascist revival" to form their own private General Staff.

Listen to this roll call:

General W. Peyton Campbell (Ret.); U.S. Army Assistant Chief of Finance; director of the Birchite "National Education Program";

Major General Charles A. Willoughby (Ret.); General Staff "Chief of Intelligence" to General MacArthur; former "Military Editor" of the *American Mercury*; editor of *Foreign Intelligence Digest* circulated as part Dr. Billy James Hargis' hate sheet *The Weekly Crusader*; a pro-Franco propagandist who criticized *The New York Times* as a "Jewish newspaper" because it dared criticize Franco;

Col. Laurence E. Bunker (Ret.); former "personal aide" to General MacArthur; on National Council of Birch Society;

Lt. General Charles B. Stone (Ret.); 14th Airforce; on National Council of Birch Society;

Lt. General William Lee (Ret.); U.S. Air Force; a Texas "Coordinator" of the Birch Society;

General Alfred Wedemeyer (Ret.); General Staff officer on War

Plans Division under Joint Chiefs; on Editorial Advisory Committee of Birch Society *American Opinion*; contributor to *American Mercury* (July, 1958);

Lt. General John O'Daniel (Ret.); Commander of the Army of Pacific (1952-54); Chief, U.S. Military Advisory Group in Vietnam (1954-55) in charge of "training" army of South Vietnam and head of "Friends of Vietnam"; frequent contributor to *American Mercury* (March, 1959) and hate sheets;

Lt. General P. A. del Valle (Ret.); U.S. Marine Corps; Contributing Editor to *American Mercury* who wrote Russell Maguire, anti-Semitic, former owner of *Mercury*: "May God bless your effort with success or America is doomed to be conquered from within by the 'Invisible Government'."

Vice Admiral A. E. Jarrell (Ret.); U.S. Navy; Contributing Editor to *American Mercury*;

Rear Admiral Harley Cope (Ret.); U.S. Navy; wrote to *American Mercury*: "*Mercury has been tremendous help to VFW (Veterans of Foreign Wars) for some years for both Mercury and VFW think as Americans should*";

Colonel John Beaty (Ret.); former Chief, Military Intelligence of War Dept. General Staff Historical and Interview Sections; Editor of top-secret "G-2 Reports"; author of *Iron Curtain Over America*, in which he describes how "Judaized Khazars"—a tribe off "Mongol stock"—took over Russia under the Soviets, "invaded" Germany, as "Asiatic immigrants," seized the Democratic Party ("Khazars Join the Democratic Party") to control the U.S.A., and how "Jewish" propaganda duped Roosevelt into "The Unnecessary War" against Hitler;

"*Colonel Victor J. Fox*"* (Ret.); former "Pentagon officer" who "spent two years with CIA"; Contributing Editor to *American Mercury*;

And this rollcall could drone on and on; for, on second thought, it constitutes not so much a private General Staff, as a private army.

Though "retired," these officers maintain close contact with high

* His real name is Bob Winston.

officials in the Pentagon and CIA. Often they appear to be the spokesmen for those silenced by Government policy.

One mysterious and ominous instance of this was General Willoughby's reprinting, in his *Foreign Intelligence Digest*, of the sabre-rattling speech by Admiral Arleigh Burke, Chief of Naval Operations. Somehow, the pro-nazi hate sheet obtained and printed this tirade on Dec. 30, 1960, "*almost one month before*" (it boasted) President Kennedy had ordered the speech suppressed as harmful to the nation's peace negotiations. The rightist publications defied the White House by widely reprinting it.

Hope for peace aroused by the Geneva disarmament and nuclear test ban conferences seems to have so frightened some of the military that they appear willing to ally themselves, openly and actively, with "the fascist revival."

Just how strong are these military men?

In the *Community of Fear*, by scientist Harrison Brown and James Real, the authors warn: "There is clearly a military group emerging in the U.S. which is dedicated to a position of perpetual hostility toward the Soviet Union and which wields enormous political as well as military power."

"The military group," say the authors, "is clearly in a position to assume actual political control over the U.S. striking forces if there are serious signs of 'weakness' in U.S. foreign relations."

This is, perhaps, one aspect of the threat by "the industrial-military complex" that former President Eisenhower warned against in his Farewell Address.

In many respects the CIA represents the political arm of the most aggressive elements of this "industrial-military complex."

Whether the CIA may, or may not, be helping to guide and finance such groups as the Birch Society is something we perhaps will never know for sure. Yet, it matters little. For the CIA specialists in "dirty war," whose provocations, schemes of invasion, and insurrections have brought such dishonor and defeat to our country internationally, have their homefront base in the work of "the fascist revival," whose propaganda offers the militarists their strongest support, and whose methods mimic the CIA's wildest operations.

5. Deutschland Uber Alles—*Second Chorus*

ON A WINTRY DAY in February, 1958, two mysterious gentlemen came to America.

They had not come on an "official" visit. Nor were they on the other hand, as they seemed to be, merely "tourists" from West Germany.

Both men were veteran hirelings of the Nazis. Dr. Walter Becher, Secretary General of the Sudetan German Council, specialized in neo-Nazi "Drang Nach Osten" propaganda. The other, George Brada, "an exiled Czech journalist," worked in the espionage and sabotage center in Munich. Both had been sent to America on a special propaganda mission.

Since the illusive Dr. Becher, and his cohort George Brada, were both active in "refugee" affairs they worked under the Bonn Government's Minister of Refugee Affairs, Theodor Oberlander. Under Hitler, Herr Oberlander had been head of the Nazi "League of the German East," appointed by Hitler's prodigy, Rudolf Hess. As Political Officer of the Nightingale Battalion, he directed the mass murders at Lvov, Poland, and later was in charge of the activities of the Sudeten Germans in West Germany. The Nazi expert on the "German East" spent much time in pre-war Sudetenland and Prague, where he may have originally made contact with Dr. Becher, the Sudeten leader, and George Brada.

Such were the credentials of our mysterious visitors .

Quietly, the two West German agents journeyed to Washington, D. C. Their briefcases bulged with "documents" that accused an "international conspiracy" of the "invisible government" of "Communists and Jews" with threatening the United States. The couriers, reportedly, somehow convinced Congressman Timothy R. Sheehan (R., Ill.) to speak on their "documents" beneath the sanctified Capitol Dome. Sheehan charged in his speech (May 14, 1958) that "the real communist system is behind the scenes, invisible—that is an invisible government."

"Western agencies, official as well as private ones," Congressman Sheehan continued, "have done everything to suppress this infor-

mation." He charged that the U.S. Government was "deliberately" playing into the hands of the "invisible government."

That speech was like a go-ahead signal for the fascists. Ultra-rightist groups reprinted the speech like a clarion call. *Dan Smoot Reports* (June 23, 1958), a national newsletter of these groups, gave it top play. So did the *American Mercury* and others.

Interestingly, it was at this time that Robert Welch "got the idea" for his Birch Society.

Back in Munich, George Brada, happily patting himself on the back for his successful mission, wrote to Russell Maguire, then editor of the *American Mercury*:

"Congressman Sheehan of Illinois made his first speech. . . . Before long he is going to make a second speech on this subject."

How a neo-Nazi propagandist knew beforehand what speeches an American Congressman was going to make is a strange story. Stranger still is the story of what followed.

Soon after the visit of Dr. Becher and Brada, the *American Mercury* began a full-fledged, viciously anti-Semitic campaign that culminated in a six-month tirade, "The Termites of The Cross." It coincided, very conveniently, with the swastika-painting plague that spread across Europe and America.

It has since been stated by the Interior Ministry of the West German State of Hessen that this swastika-painting outburst was organized by the Bureau of Psychological Warfare of the Adenauer government's Ministry of Defense to counter-act the "Spirit of Camp David," which, at the time, threatened West German war preparations.

Major Frederick Sagner, chief of Bureau of Psychological Warfare, reports the Hessen Interior Ministry, ordered his deputy, Political Director, Dr. Eberhard Taubert: "It is high time to flex our muscles more. Flabbiness and softies are no longer useful." And he added: "We need a 'national wave'."

Dr. Taubert, who had been an expert in Nazi anti-Semitism for Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry, knew just how "to heat up the atmosphere." For, as he said, "before World War II persecu-

tion of the Jews contributed in a large measure to creating an 'intensive national sentiment.'" In his work Dr. Taubert makes use of "the SS-HIAC (Mutual Aid Association of Former SS-Gestapo), the veterans groups, leagues of refugees, such as the 'Silesians' or the 'Sudeten Germans' . . ." and our Dr. Becher, who came on that unobtrusive visit, back in 1958, is of course the Secretary General of the Sudeten German Council!

So the circle is completed. The mysterious visit is no longer so mysterious.

The old Nazi propagandists are back at work now and their pro-Nazi American agents are back at work, too. One by one, those indicted for Nazi sedition by the U.S. Government during World War II have crawled out of hiding. Elizabeth Dilling, George Deatherage, Rev. Gerald B. Winrod, Robert Edward Edmundson are but a few of the supporters of Hitler who have once again become "Super-Patriots."

It is an old ruse, this draping of fascism in the flag of Americanism. Long ago, in 1935, Ernest Wilhelm Bohle, head of the Auslands-Organization (Foreign Division) of the Nazi Party, and Rudolph Hess, Hitler's deputy, ordered Nazi agents in the U.S.A. to organize an "American Citizens' group" that was to use "the Big Lie" and charge that the U.S. Government, "controlled by Communists and Jews," were the "traitors," not the Nazi agents, who were merely "patriots."

The Psychological Laboratory of German Army Military Intelligence, in Berlin, prepared this propaganda technique for the Nazis. And the Bureau of Psychological Warfare, of Bonn's Defense Ministry, is the direct descendant of this Hitlerite Psychological Laboratory!

How closely these "new" fascists work with their neo-Nazi counterparts in West Germany is illustrated by an interview, in the *American Mercury* (Sept., 1960) with Lt. General Reinhard Gehlen, head of the Bundesnachrichtendienst, the Intelligence Service of the Bonn Government, and Hitler's former espionage chief in occupied Russia.

Gehlen, whom the *Mercury* affectionately calls "our silent partner," is West Germany's Allen Dulles. He never gives interviews.

Yet, he not only gave the *Mercury's* reporter, "Thomas Johson," an 8-page interview, but invited him to tour his secret spy headquarters in Pullach, Bavaria. In rhapsodies over this "dirty war" operation, which he describes as "so unusual that it seems grotesque" and "sort of Boris Karloff," the *Mercury* interview quotes Gehlen as saying: "In this business we need some tough characters" and so he hired a "few former Nazis," but "none has got high in our organization." Surely, coming from the lips of a Nazi General, who is himself top boss, this is the understatement of all time. *However, even more disturbing is the question of how and why this Nazi General, who "is influential in moulding the West's political and military strategy," decided to let one of our foulest, fascist hate-sheets have the run of his headquarters, his tacit support, and his blessing.*

Of course "the fascist revival" reciprocates by hurrahing West Germany to the Heavens.

William Schlamm, editor of the Birch Society's *American Opinion*, and its European analyst, wrote recently in its pages that "the unbending will of Germany (is) our only wholly reliable ally on the continent." Germany, said Schlamm, may once "again" have to "save" the West! It, Germany, may have to "play again the world's naughty boy and disturber of peace!"

"Naughty boy"? Isn't that a coy word for Hitlerism!

To better coordinate the Birch Society's thinking with the Fourth Reich's "unbending will," *American Opinion* editor Schlamm has now taken up residence in West Germany where he is said to work closely with the Bureau of Psychological Warfare. Thus Dr. Becher and his friend will be spared the need of future trips, and the second chorus of "Deutschland Uber Alles" can be sung in harmony !

6. Southern Accent of Fascism

THE VEHEMENT, FOUL-MOUTHED White Citizens' Councils of New Orleans shocked the world when it unleashed an abusive attack on two Negro elementary school children.

Here was the Southern accent of fascism.

It was logical that this hysteria would reach its shrill pitch in New Orleans. This is the hometown, the organizing center and clearing house of Birch Society, segregationist, and States Rights activity in the South. Lovely old New Orleans has become a reservoir of decadent racism.

A genial, smiling man by the name of Kent Courtney, who works out of New Orleans, and who hides behind his grin one of the cleverest racist minds in the U.S.A., is the Svengali of segregationist politics. He has the reputation of being a "shy dynamo."

Kent Courtney, through his *Independent American*, last year brought about the unity of anti-Semites and segregationists. He was the driving force behind the States Rights Parties in the 1960 election. He was the founder of the Chicago Conference of Conservatives which sought to unify the Southern racists and Northern reactionaries. He voices "the fascist revival's" stringent anti-Negro and anti-integration propaganda.

"FEPC's COMMUNIST ORIGIN" is a typical headline in Courtney's *Independent American*. When he is not battling the "Communist-New Deal" Democratic Party and the "International-Socialist" Republican Party, he devotes his incendiary paper to stirring the fires of racist hatred and strife.

Courtney's activities have been publicly endorsed by Governor Griffin of Georgia and privately by other Dixiecrat leaders. It was, in fact, Senator Eastland of Mississippi, with an assist from Senator Talmadge of Georgia, who first proposed the unifying of Dixiecrat and fascist groupings, in the *American Mercury*. Like a good publicist Courtney is merely doing what his political bosses told him.

In his "spare time" Kent Courtney heads the Birch Society in his area, as well as the National Committee for Economic Freedom. Thus he co-ordinates his work with "the fascist revival" nationally.

The "front man" and co-worker of Courtney in his nefarious activities is Thomas Anderson of Nashville, Tennessee, the publisher of *Farm and Ranch* (circulation 1,300,000). "Respectable" publisher of the *Mississippi Farmer*, the *Alabama Farmer*, the *Georgia*

Farmer and the *Arkansas Farmer*, Anderson is being touted as a Vice Presidential candidate of the right.

Speaking across the country, Anderson, a blunt and brutally open orator, is an advocate of "impeaching the entire Supreme Court" for its integration devisions.

His publishing chain is not his sole claim to infamy. For Thomas Anderson writes a weekly racist column for 356 small-town newspapers, is a frequent contributor to the *American Mercury*, and is a National Council member of the Birch Society. Young, handsome, and vicious, Anderson is one of "the fascist revival's" most potentially powerful leaders, and a diehard racist.

Lynch ropes and KKK sheets are not in the wardrobes of big-time operators like Anderson and Courtney. They use white collar, respectable, and modern methods.

In the backwoods of Southern politics lurks an unruly mob of segregationists who do the real dirty work.

Among the hundreds of scurrilous sheets that propagate this gospel of hate are *The Weekly Crusader* of "Dr. Billy James Jargis, founder of the "Christian Crusade," of Tulsa, Oklahoma; *The Kingdom Digest*, a "religious" hate sheet of John A. Lovell's, of Fort Worth, Texas; *The Defender* of The Defenders of the Christian Faith, Rev. Winrod's old outfit, of Wichita, Kansas; and *Closer-Up*, edited by Don Bell of Palm Beach, Florida.

Vitriolic Don Bell, whose White Citizens Council-type newsletter has wide circulation, is one of the worst and most influential. He mixes his segregation ideas with a strong dose of anti-Semitism. So far out is Bell's Jew-baiting that he blames the Civil War on "Jewish bankers."

Under the guise of preaching Christ's gospel these fanatics unleash "hate thy neighbor" sermons.

Lovell, of *The Kingdom Digest*, a regular *Mercury* stalwart, claims his "radio message" of "Anglo-Saxon superiority" is carried on 35 to 50 stations throughout the South. Courtney's *Independent American* broadcasts on dozens of Southern radio stations—as a "public service." Via radio, newspapers, "revivals" and meetings they pollute the South.

The State Sovereignty Commission of Mississippi showed how

the Dixiecrats make use of these rabid racists when it recently bought \$5,000 worth of hate literature from M. G. Lowman, head of the Circuit Riders, Inc., who then toured the state, spouting hate, at the Government's expense. Most often such outsiders need not be brought in, however, for the State Houses and Legislatures have an ample supply of their own propagandists.

In fact, most of the "300 solid conservatives," who Senator Goldwater boasted were elected in 1960, are Southern legislators.

Financiers of "the fascist revival" are also numerous among the Jimcrow corporations of the South.

The Milliken family, for example, which owns some 30 Southern textile mills, not only financially supports the *National Review* and racist publications through ads, but Mr. Seth Milliken, one of the heads of the clan, donates his swank New York apartment as headquarters for *Public Service*, a vast, nationwide, rightist political pressure group; 131 East 69th Street.

Other Southern businessmen who support "the fascist revival" are:

Norman Floyd McGowin, Alabama lumber tycoon and banker, President of the National Lumber Manufacturers Association and on Birch Society National Council.

George Washington Armstrong, Jr., Past President of Texas Manufacturers Association, Chairman of Texas Steel Co., and on Editorial Advisory Committee of Birchite *American Opinion*;

James L. Coker, South Carolina paper and power magnate, who is also on *American Opinion* Committee;

John U. Barr, Director of Bank of New Orleans, and on *American Opinion*;

T. Coleman Andrews, of Richmond, Virginia, National Council of Birch Society;

Martin J. Connor, III, head of Southern States Industrial Council (who we met before) and on *American Opinion*;

A. G. Heinsohn, Jr., President of Cherokee Cotton Mills and leading Tennessee industrialist, who is on Birch Society National Council.

Though a leader of the Florida KKK scoffed at such men as

these, as "parlor fascists," it is their wealth that finances the headlined hoodlumism of the KKK mobs.

Southern industrialists have become among the foremost financiers of "the fascist revival." Racism, so vital to the cheap labor and anti-union policies of these businessmen, is a base upon which Birch Society and the country's fascist groups build their ideas and organizations. Fear of the heroic sit-in struggles and the effect integration would have in unifying Negro and white workers in their mills, mines, and fields, motivates the Southern manufacturers to pour money into the secret treasuries of the rightists, and volunteer their services, and those of their political puppets, to lead the national hate drive.

In this regard, it might be remembered that Robert Welch, fuehrer of the Birch Society, was born in Chowan County, North Carolina.

The undemocratic coalition of official demagogues and non-official KKK-type enforcers of jimcrow has ruled the South for many a year. Year after year, the so-called Democratic Party of the Southern states has been able to faithfully play this racist game.

But times have changed. The Negro people, determined that democracy means what it says, or it means nothing, and inspired by the freedom struggles of their African brothers, have risen in mighty protest throughout the South to insist on equal rights. Sit-ins, heroic and bold in thought and action, have smashed barriers that are generations old. There is "a new spirit," as Reverend Martin Luther King has said, in the hearts of the young.

The "plantation house politics" of old has died on the vine. Old horny ideas and frog-throated oratory just don't work anymore.

Jimcrow's reply to this "new spirit" of democracy has been—fascism. Not merely the old racist laws and old dixiecrat bombast, but something new has been added to the Southern political scenery.

The national unity that the Governmental dixiecrats and fascist elements have formed is beyond party lines. Unlike even the GOP-Dixiecrat deals of the past, that were you-scratch-my-back-and-I'll-scratch-yours political coalitions, the new allies are united by more dangerous bonds. Southern segregationists have joined

the organizations of the Right on a national scale, often taking leading positions, and have attempted to adopt the rightist political program to their own racist programs.

Racism has in turn been seized upon by the Birch Society and such groups as the base for their international program. Oliver, the Birch Society "philosopher," thus attacks the Cuban people as "Mongols" and the Communists as "orientals." Senator Goldwater attacks the rest of the peoples of the world as "inferior." William Buckley's *National Review* speaks of the people of Africa as "barbarians" and "savages" who "cannot handle their own political and economic affairs" and therefore freedom must be denied to the African people "who tend to revert to savagery against both whites and their own civilized minority" when they become independent.

"NATO (should) proclaim a new Monroe Doctrine" for Africa, says the *National Review*; "it would be known as 'the Kennedy Doctrine'," to safeguard imperialism in Africa. President Kennedy should "call on the sea and air fleets to police" Africa, demands the rightist magazine.

"In the South," writes Buckley, "the white community is entitled to put forward a claim to prevail politically because the leaders of American civilization are white. . . ." Democracy? If democracy stands in the way of jimcrow, then "it is proper to circumvent them (the Negro people) even if, in doing so, democracy is flouted."

"Sometimes the minority cannot prevail except by force," Buckley concludes, "then it must determine whether the prevalence of its will is worth the price of using force!"

Thus Southern segregationists draw political and organizational leadership from "the fascist revival" and give the philosophy of fascism its racist base.

7. Labor? Abolish It!

LABOR IS ONE OF the bullseyes on the Birch Society's targets. In his book, *Conscience of A Conservative*, Senator Goldwater tells what the Birchites have in mind for labor:

1. "Union shop agreements" must go! They "deny free-

dom of association," says Goldwater. "I strongly favor enactment of State right-to-work laws."

2. "Unions should be forbidden to engage in any kind of political activity!" He suggests "new legislation" to bar labor from politics.

3. Industry-wide bargaining must be outlawed! "The evil," he says, "to be eliminated is the power of unions to enforce industry-wide bargaining," for this, in Goldwater's opinion, "is comparable to that of a Socialist government."

In the division of labor that exists in "the fascist revival" the first step in this union-busting program has been assigned to the National Right To Work Committee.

Who are the "workers" for this "Right To Work" outfit?

A typical "worker" is the Chairman of the Board of the National Right To Work Committee, P. M. French, president of the Southern Manufacturing Co. of Nashville, Tennessee.

Yet another typical "worker" is E. S. Dillard, President of the Old Dominion Box Co. of South Carolina, and a member of the wealthy Southern Dillard family which controls a private empire of banks, insurance firms, railroads, and textile mills. The Dillards, through Jefferson Dillard, Vice President of Deering-Milliken cotton mills, has its fingers in financing several Rightist and racist causes.

The Dillards and the Millikens are high on the dishonor roll of the Textile Workers Union, AFL-CIO, for their vicious anti-Negro, anti-labor activities.

Big businessmen and small businessmen, mostly from the South, secretly run the "Right To Work" outfit. For like most "worker" groups of the extreme rightists there are practically no workers in it, and none are really wanted—any more than the Birch Society wants rank and filers.

Education director of the "Right To Work" group is Glenn Avant Green, who, until his new assignment, was Executive Vice President of the notorious National Education Program of Harding College, in Searcy, Arkansas.

One of Green's co-directors of the National Education Program was Howard W. Bennett, General Electric's head of Industrial

Relations and the "dean" of big business, anti-union schemers. Specializing in anti-Communism as a union-busting disguise, the National Education Program produced the vicious film "Communism of The Map." Racism was an old standby of Green's and he employed such sordid characters as Richard Arens, who was fired from his House Un-American Committee job because of his blatant racist outbursts and associations, to do this dirty work. In his own name the new "Right To Work" director was author of "Camera Inside Europe," a filmstrip that accused Norway, England, and Italy of being "Socialist Welfare States" and "Communist dupes."

To unify the "Right To Work" group with the Birchites and segregationists, it sent its new Vice President, Lafayette Hooser, to represent it at the Chicago Conference of Conservatives, organized by Kent Courtney, the Louisiana racist and Birch Society leader. Hooser was a featured speaker at this anti-Semitic, anti-Negro get-together of political vultures.

Revived by "the fascist revival," the "Right To Work" movement, "left for dead in '58," has seen "a record rise in revenue," the *Wall Street Journal* reports, "and new members."

Finances of these "Right To Work" activities come from big corporations, which according to the *Wall Street Journal*, pay "dues" of up to \$1,000 apiece yearly.

"The movement's goal," the *Wall Street Journal* goes on to say is "To spread to more states the union shop bans enacted by 19. These laws prohibit the union shop. . . . Immediate targets are Maine and Oklahoma, where state legislatures are now taking up anti-union shop proposals. By next year right-to-workers expect major efforts in California, Oregon, Washington, and Wyoming. Interest is also strong, they say, in Illinois and Massachusetts."

The *AFL-CIO News and Labor*, organ of the Railroad unions, have condemned "The Birch Society as an active ally of the 'Right To Work' lobbyists." So have other labor papers, such as the N. Y. Hotel Trades Council's *Hotel*.

I have attended many meetings of these rightists.

Not once have I ever seen a labor leader, of any political persuasion, in attendance. In fact, of thousands that I've rubbed shoulders with at these gatherings, few were workingmen.

Workers are, as a matter of habit, viewed with suspicion. In "the Elite" circles of the Birch Society and its "fronts," ordinary workers are most often barred from membership. Rank and filers need not apply. Yet, why would a guy who works for a living join up with those who wish to take his living away from him.

Who would willingly come, after all, to his own funeral?

8. *Repeal the Income Tax*

Would you like your Income Tax repealed?

Brother, what a sweet sound that has. Yet, before you go for the bait of what is probably the cleverest demagogic slogan America has heard since Huey Long's "Share The Wealth," it might be wise to look at the teeth of the Birch Society trap.

Willis E. Stone, the spokesman of the "Repeal The Income Tax" movement, in an article in the *American Mercury*, May, 1961, waves this enticing bait: Repeal the Income Tax, he conjoles, and we "will put a greater increase into the pay envelope of every American than any politician or labor leader ever dared to promise."

"It would seem that we would all support this fight for right without hesitation or limit," he tells his Defenders of the Christian Faith readers. If the "23rd Amendment" is passed, Stone writes, there will be a "saving" of \$44,750,000,000 to the taxpayer.

What a windfall! What a utopia will come pouring out of the Treasury cornucopia! What a give-away!

Give-away is just what it is. But not to the taxpayer.

The "23rd Amendment" will not merely repeal the Federal Income Tax, but will repeal all "700 Federal Government agencies" that are financed by our taxes. It would put the Government "out of business." *That is, it would abolish the Public Health Service, the Veterans' Administration Hospitals, the National Parks and Forests, Federal Aid to Education, Health, and Welfare, Surplus Foods to Depressed Areas, Federal Home Loans, and even the Post Office.*

Then, what would happen to these Government services? You guessed it: they would be sold to private corporations and would become profit-making big businesses.

In all, Willis E. Stone estimates, this would be a give-away of 262 billion dollars of Federal property. Not the least of what the Repeal The Income Tax movement wishes to get its hands on is the 750 million acres now in the custody of the Department of the Interior.

There is money in this madness!

Who is Willis E. Stone? Stone is the director of the National Committee for Economic Freedom, a Birch Society "front." His Committee is run by such National Council members of the Birch Society as Justice M. T. Phelps, Thomas Anderson, F. Gano Chance (remember him?), A. G. Heinsohn, Jr., and others. The National Treasurer of his Committee is Walter Knott, who is Secretary-Treasurer of a Birchite propaganda outlet known as Education Information, Inc.

The Committee recently united with the White Citizens' Councils, States Righters, and John Birchites, in the Chicago Conference of Conservatives, to begin an all-out campaign to strip the American people of their Federal rights.

No two-bit operation, the Committee is heavily financed by big business interests who are licking their lips at the thought of its proposed Give-Away. It claims to be active in 36 states and to have lobbyists in nearly all State Legislatures. Its "23rd Amendment" has already been approved by four states: Texas, Wyoming, Louisiana and Nevada.

During 1960, it boasts, it distributed "3,000,000 units of printed matter" and placed "more than 1,000,000 columninches of editorial comment" in the press.

Incidentally, by the repeal of the income tax, the Committee is quick to point out, it would not touch a cent of Federal money appropriated for war production, the Pentagon, or the CIA.

9. Young Americans for Fascism

IF YOU GO LOOKING for the national offices of the Young Americans for Freedom you are likely to find yourself in the offices of the China lobby.

That's what happened to me.

So-called headquarters of the "conservative youth movement," that has chosen the ultra-rightist Senator Goldwater as "our spokesman," is listed as 343 Lexington Avenue, N. Y. Yet, at that address, going to the floor where "Young Americans for Freedom," or YAF as they call themselves, is listed in the building directory, I found myself in the offices of Marvin Leibman Associates, a publicity firm that runs the China lobby.

It was the oldest youth office I've ever seen. Not to mention, the oddest.

The receptionist was a grey-haired "youth." Hurrying in and out were various middle-aged "youth" and bald "youth." But no young "youth" were to be seen.

These sleek offices house the China lobby's pressure group, known euphemistically as "The Committee Of One Million Against the Admission of Red China to the United Nations." By "One Million" they mean one million dollars, not one million people, for this is a one-man "Committee" headed by Marvin Leibman himself, who *IS* the Young American for Freedom as well; or at least was.

Exposed as such by this writer, it was acknowledged by William Buckley Jr., in his *National Review* (March, 1961) that:

"... The guiding hand (of YAF'S "Youth Rally") was Marvin Leibman's, a young(ish) man who has emerged in recent months as principal impresario and coordinator of successful conservative and anti-communist organizations and demonstrations. (It was he who organized the anti-Khrushchev demonstrations in 1959. . . .)"

William Buckley Jr. ought to know, for the offices of his *National Review* are also the offices of the Greater New York Council of the Young Americans for Freedom.

Coincidentally, on the Steering Committee of Marvin Leibman's China lobby sits Francis Walters, Chairman of the House Un-American Committee, who was honored by YAF with a "Government" Award at their "Youth Rally." It is no doubt a coincidence

too that YAF's Public Affairs Award went to the McGraw-Edison Company, an appliance and electronics firm, whose McGraw-Edison Public Affairs Foundation happens to "share" the China lobby offices and those of YAF, and thus helps pay their rent, among other things.

Since money is of some importance to a new "youth" organization, this tie-up with McGraw-Edison is interesting, to say the least.

Head of McGraw-Edison, Ex-Governor Charles Edison of New Jersey, is one of the national heroes of the Birch Society, and an Editorial Advisor to the *Birchite American Opinion*.

On YAF's National Advisory Board are others, such as Dean Clarence Manion, who is on the National Council of the Birch Society, and General A. C. Wedemeyer, who is on the Board of *American Opinion*. And, of course, William Buckley, Jr., who in his *National Review* (April 22, 1961) gave the Birch Society his blessing with the words, "I hope it thrives. . . ." When asked if the "Birch Society is totalitarian or fascistic," he replied: "No, I consider it reasonable that a man who founds an ad hoc organization of this character should have as much dominance over its affairs as he considers to be in the best interests of the organization's objective." Besides, Buckley said, "I have always admired his (Robert Welch's) personal courage and devotion to his cause."

So much for the "youth" behind YAF and the "freedom" they believe in.

What actually is YAF?

It began, they say, in the quiet hilltown of Sharon, Connecticut, *National Review* Editor Buckley's family home, in September, 1960. Douglas Caddy, its National Director, claims that since then it has grown to 21,000 members with clubs in 150 schools.

Largely, these youth clubs were organized by Senator Goldwater and his fellow rightists in the Republican Party and the Birch Society.

And why is the Republican Party's Senate Campaign Committee Chairman suddenly so interested in youth? He is, I submit, no more interested in youth than the China lobby, or big business

corporations like McGraw-Edison, or Pentagon brass like General Wedemeyer are! Rather, they are interested in using this youth organization for their own political purposes.

The YAF clubs are being set up as part of a political machine.

"We are organizing according to counties, assembly districts, and election districts," says the Greater New York Council of YAF. "Our members will be given training in the ABC's of neighborhood politics—petition drives, primary contests, election laws and regulations, distribution of campaign literature, door to door canvassing."

Further, YAF says, "There is no age limit for neighborhood clubs, making it possible for them to accept any conservative who is anxious to help."

To help do what? Why to build a "grass-roots" political machine that Goldwater, YAF's patron and "spokesman," called for at their recent "Youth Rally."

What has all this to do with youth?

Nothing at all. YAF doesn't even have the suggestions of a youth program. YAF makes no pretense at being interested in the needs of youth.

There are some things, however, which YAF does believe in. Its members are trained not only in ringing doorbells, but in breaking up progressive and union meetings. Its hecklers, picket-lines, and hoodlums—white collar hoodlums to be sure—have begun to descend like a plague of gnats on peace rallies and civil liberties gatherings. Supposedly, this is part of "the rough school of practical politics" which its leaders promise YAF members.

YAF has been assigned the job of the leg work (with-a-brickbat) of "the fascist revival."

At the recent YAF "Youth Rally," Herbert Kohler, manufacturer of Kohler toilets and anti-union lockouts, enthusiastically called YAF "the hope of the future." Indiana Republican leader James Abstinence, borrowing a term from the older "New Order," called them "the wave of the future."

Inspired by this, YAF's organizational director, Bill Cotter, shouted that if YAF was "the wave of the future" it was only the "first wave"; then pointing to some sub-teen girls with rifles, who

were part of the band, he cheerfully added: "They are the second wave! And they are armed!"

"Young Americans for Freedom" might be called the "Young Americans for Chiang Kai-shek," or perhaps, more accurately the "Young Americans for Fascism."

10. *Wanted: A Man on Horseback*

"Goldwater is not popular here. They look up to him because he has been able to achieve national stature and is a symbol. But coupled with that they don't trust him because they say he has had to sell out and compromise in order to gain that national position. . . ."

THIS COMMENT WAS made by one who works intimately with and who personally knows the thinking of Birch Society members.

Louisiana leader of the Birch Society, Kent Courtney, re-emphasizes this analysis by editorializing in his *Independent American* that he fears Senator Goldwater may sell out his right-wing supporters by making "a deal" with Rockefeller and the G.O.P. "liberals."

It is true that Goldwater has been, and is, the political sage and front-runner of the right. Yet his position is shaky. Goldwater, an astute politician, has himself recognized this by saying that he believes someone else, not he, will be the Presidential candidate of the Right. "I think the 1964 candidate," he says, "will be someone we haven't heard of yet."

Who will this Man On The White Horse be?

In the past, the Right has been unfortunate in its choice of leaders. Cynics and opportunists, for the most part, have often abandoned the movement and sacrificed its dogmas to protect their political futures and get what they could while the getting was good.

Joseph McCarthy, it is said, was too cynical to believe even his vilest outbursts, and young Richard Nixon, the crusader to save the U.S.A. from Alger Hiss' typewriter, has admitted that he

would have just as soon been a liberal Democrat, if the opportunity had been offered, and Barry Goldwater now laughingly recalls that he became a Republican because of the toss of a coin.

No wonder the Right is suspicious of these political hucksters, though it makes use of them.

Rightists, writes Frank S. Meyer, an editor of the *National Review*, can no longer "afford to be so loosely organized that the principles of the movement are subordinated to the leadership of a political figure. The movement must set the pace and subordinate whatever leaders come forward to its principles."

Where is this principled demagogue to be found? How will he differ from a McCarthy?

He will have to be a "Caesar," Professor Oliver, the "philosopher," writes. In less philosophical, more practical language, George Sokolsky, the Hearst writer and an old hand at right-wing causes, explains that the new leader will have to "go further than McCarthy!"

The criticism of McCarthy for not going far enough is a common one heard on the Right. So, too, is the criticism of McCarthy's go-it-alone policy and his political error of not building a grassroots, national machine. Leaders of the Birch Society are intent on remedying both these past errors. For one thing they not only plan to "go further" than McCarthy, but they plan to go all the way; for another, they are building a well-planned, well-organized, and very well-financed political machine.

However, the right is beset with conflict.

Isolationists and imperialists, big businessmen and lynch-mob thugs, fundamentalist "anti-Papist" preachers and sections of the Catholic hierarchy, conservative scholars and fanatical anti-Semites, Generals of the Pentagon and the CIA and "Mothers" groups, pro-Nazi propagandists and "respectable" politicians in the right-wings of the Republican and Democratic Parties have to be united.

There are those to whom, in the words of Frank S. Meyer (*National Review*, May 6, 1961) "the distinction between Communists and Liberals becomes blurred" and who feel liberal democracy must be destroyed before Communism can be destroyed:

while others feel Communism must be destroyed "as the first necessity," before liberal democracy can be destroyed. It seems to be a principled issue, though you may be pardoned if you discern little distinction between the two.

"Ideologically, the major question facing the conservative movement would seem to be the continuing problem of reconciling and uniting" these groups, Meyer writes. He points to "two contradictory emphases" that arise from these two approaches: (1) Those who wish to "subordinate the principles" of the Right "to the electoral victory of the Republican Party," as the Birch Society's Welch does, and (2) The "natural impatience of hard conservatives" who wish "to narrow the movement," as segregationists like Kent Courtney do. The *National Review* editor cautions that there is a "need for rapidly consummating a unification of the movement's diverse ideological emphases."

In other words the "polarization of the Right" has not yet taken place in definitive and decisive form. The rightist thinkers are laboring mightily to create a mountain of these mice.

Yet, thus far they have created only large-sized political rats.

Meyer warns: "The problem is to find forms of organization" that will offer "uniformity of detailed programs," but "the forms of organization which will meet these necessary requirements are yet to be found."

The "forms" that "the fascist revival" will finally take are still to be seen. However, there are certain possible directions that suggest themselves.

Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York, with his campaign to have America dig a hole and bury itself in Air Raid Shelters, his "fallout crackers," that he recently fed to the President, and his demand for "limited war" with "tactical nuclear arms" may be just the sort of figure the rightists could, ironically, take cover under. His "liberal" reputation, that has served so well to cover up one of the most criminally acquired and colonialist accumulated fortunes in our history, may offer the very shield of demagogic unity the rightists seek. Newly elected National Chairman of the Republican Party, William E. Miller, has broadly hinted at a Rockefeller-Goldwater ticket in 1964.

It is conceivable that a Rockefeller-Goldwater coalition is one of the "forms" the Right might evolve.

Or, the Goldwater "conservatives" might join with the Dixiecrat segregationists in the Third Party that Kent Courtney advocates.

Or, failing to achieve political unity and independent "forms" of their own the rightists might discard parliamentary methods and adopt those described in *The John Franklin Letters* of open terror and violence.

Fascism's "forms," in a large part, will be determined by the degree and scope of the struggle waged against it. If the people fight back with all their strength and with sufficient speed, the yet unformed Right may become formless, defeated, and tossed on the garbage heap of history, as were its predecessors.

The Right would like to make a bid for power, but they do not have the power to make their bid—yet.

If one believes their own declarations, they hope to make this bid within the next few years. For the Birch Society believes that peaceful coexistence is impossible, that capitalism cannot successfully compete with Socialism, and every passing month sees Socialism stronger and capitalism weaker. Either they act "rapidly" or they see their war program being neutralized by the peoples of the world.

It is war now or never!

Who rides the White Horse of Fascism therefore may become secondary to having the horse ridden, at breakneck speed, to the Armageddon of war by those who, though "not willing to die for democracy," are quite willing to have democracy die for them!

What can be done about it?

11. War or Peace

WHERE DID "the fascist revival" come from? Why has it reared its head at this time?

There is no mystery to this.

Capitalism is in crisis. It is no secret; TV political quiz-shows,

newspaper editorials, and politicians hoping to retire as elder statesmen discuss it, absolve it, and solve it weekly. Yet it will not go away. There is a crisis in foreign policy. There is a crisis in the economy. There is a crisis of morality. There is a crisis of the social structure. Year by year, we jump or are pushed from one crisis to another and these crises within crises are merely symptoms of the general crisis of capitalism.

Big business' most warlike and rampageous elements hope to solve the crisis of capitalism—their own historically outmoded and bankrupt policies have created—by the demagogy of fascism. It is the demagogy of frightened men who are victims of their own political paranoia.

In America old-fashioned fascism dons a new-fashioned and "chic," modern dress. Though the body of its ideas may be similar to Hitler's its form and shape wears the guise of the Constitution and of "free enterprise."

Since World War II, there has been a growth of military and para-military power in this country without parallel in our history. The Government's sanctioning of CIA dirty and "guerilla wars," the concentration of power in the Executive (specifically the power to declare such wars), the whittling away of Congress' functions and the restricting of free speech and civil liberties by the tightening noose of the Smith Act, McCarran Act, and Subversive Activities Control Board—recently strengthened by the 5-to-4 Supreme Court decision—have further created the "Constitutional" methods by which fascism is given the opportunity to create a dictatorial system within the hollow shell of a democratic system.

It is this democratic vacuum which "Constitutional fascism" seeks to fill, not with Hitlerism, but with a "super-patriotic," Americanized demagogy.

Hitler's forces were, after all, militarily defeated and Hitler's campfollowers were defeated politically.

"A fellow has to be careful nowadays," muttered "Colonel" Eugene Sanctuary, head of the World Alliance Against Jewish Aggressiveness, and distributor of trinkets such as the "Kike Killer," during the days of the Nazi debacle. Such faithful sympathizers of the Nazis as the "Colonel" had to be careful indeed.

The fascists of that day silently went into hiding, to bide their time, to wait. "History is not the story of the triumph of virtue," Senator Goldwater has cynically said and the faithful had faith their time would come.

Years of the Cold War encouraged them. Koreans overseas and McCarthyism at home gave them hope, but these were actions that gave them little need for independent activity. Whatever they did during those years was mainly to supplement the "Official" witch-hunts and war maneuvers.

Then, when the recovery of socialist strength, the rise of freedom in Africa and Asia, and the advent of peaceful coexistence threatened the war psychosis, and John Foster Dulles was forced, by defeat after defeat of his "brink of war" policies to retreat to an "agonizing reappraisal," the ultra-Right, the out and out fascists, saw their opportunity. The re-arming of the Nazis in West Germany, under the leadership of Hitler's generals, like General Speidel, the new NATO chief, and General Heusinger, the new NATO Permanent Representative in Washington, further encouraged them. Finally, the more racist and aggressive elements of big business, especially in the N.A.M., joined them openly.

Lo, the "Colonel" was back in business!

Fascism feeds on defeat. It is defeat of the State Department's brink of war policies in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Europe that prepares the victims for fascism's demagogic solutions. It is death, in the form of the CIA-inspired, directed, financed, and lost wars in Cuba, Laos, the Congo and Hungary that feeds these victims into the maw of fascism's demagogic organizations.

Every time the brinkmanship bravado of a Dulles, or a Rusk, falls off its brink the fascists are there waiting to take the latest disillusioned Cold Warriors under their Right wing.

Since a foreign policy of war, cold, lukewarm, or hot, is bound to fail with every new frontier of brinkmanship, the strength of the Right grows with new recruits. Here, fascism soothingly says, is the solution to your desperation, frustration and disillusionment; it's simple, just stop trying half measures, and have it done with once and for all. Let's go to war!

"U.S. world policy—the policy of containment—is bankrupt,"

writes James Burnham in the *National Review*; "... containment is possible only through what amounts to a policy of liberation," that is, "only if it comprises or at least threatens *offensive operations of one sort or another against the enemy's own territory and positions.*" Lest anyone not get his point Burnham's weekly column is entitled: "THE THIRD WORLD WAR."

"Let's Join The Battle" and "The War We Are In" are typical war exhortations of Dr. George Benson, head of the National Education Program, whose weekly column urges war in 3,600 newspapers and 600 corporation "industrial publications." "War is inevitable," writes George Sokolsky. "We must be prepared to fight a nuclear war," proclaims Birch Society National Council leader, Thomas Anderson. "Of course," chimes in Senator Goldwater, this "policy runs the risk of war."

"NEEDED: A BLOW," concludes the *National Review*.

The war-cry of the Right have an unnerving and accumulative influence on public opinion. But this is not their immediate danger. The "real and present danger" of rightist propaganda comes from its influence on the Kennedy Administration.

The Pentagon and the CIA bring pressure on the Kennedy Administration from within. Gleefully, General Lemnitzer, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, advises, "We do have at the present time the power to destroy the Soviet Union." At the same time, the Right brings pressures from without, for "Offensive operations of one sort or another against the enemy's own territory and positions," as the *National Review* puts it. In this way, a pincer movement of military and rightist thinking is brought to bear to behead any hopes for peace.

Cuba is an example of this:

Months before the Kennedy Administration okayed the invasion of Cuba, Senator Goldwater was advocating that we "stop crawling on our knees to Castro" and go charging "up San Juan Hill." The CIA directed and financed invasion, though it never reached San Juan Hill, coincided with this advice of the Right. Robert Welch, rejoicing at this, endorsed President Kennedy's war move with, what is for him the supreme accolade. The President, said Welch, "is less a captive of Communist influence" than Eisenhower was;

and Senator Goldwater praised "Jack," urging him to be more militaristic still, and "blockade Cuba." Then, the "next time," demanded rightists, the U.S. Armed Forces should be sent.

Quick to take up the war-cry, the Commandant of the Marine Corps, General David Shoup, declared that the Marines "are ready to take any damned island they want to!"

Thus the military and political pincers tighten on foreign policy. President Kennedy, the Right hopes, will by this tactic be forced toward their own position.

This tactic of the Right attempts to destroy the Kennedy Administration's promises of peace with warlike actions. To accomplish this, the Right seeks to compromise the self-proclaimed "liberalism" of President Kennedy's Administration on domestic issues, and to separate it from its gunboat foreign policy. Knowing that a "liberal" program at home cannot long survive an international policy that is reactionary, the rightist politicians hope to sink the civil rights, labor, and welfare measures of the Kennedy Administration with the gunfire of war.

It is the familiar guns-not-butter tactic. Once guns replace peace negotiations, the rightists know the rest is history.

"Humorous" is how an unusually perceptive journalist, at first, described these fanatics. "Ridiculous" was the dictum of Attorney-General Robert Kennedy.

Yet, wasn't Mussolini thought of, at first, as "buffoon" and "clown," and wasn't Hitler ridiculed as a "madman" and "lunatic"?

Is it necessary, at this late date, to say that dangers of fascism will be defeated only if they are seriously exposed and fought? Laughing at fascism will not laugh it away. Wishful thinking will not wish it away. Nor will the belittling of "the fascist revival" help defeat this determined offensive of the war advocates.

To the trade unions, in particular, and working people in general, whom fascism would burden with the casualties and costs of war while denying them their laboriously won rights, weakening and abolishing their unions, and subjecting them to second-class citizenship, the threat of fascism is very real and immediate;

To the Negro people, to whom fascism would mean an instituting of racism to the level of national and international policy,

while establishing jimcrow as the law of the land and destroying any hope of equality and integration, the threat of fascism is deadly;

To the Jewish people, to whom fascism would mean a reopening of the scarred wounds of Hitlerism, the threat of fascism is a nightmare;

To the intellectuals, to whom fascism would mean an eternal witch-hunt while straight-jacketing all thought, padlocking the minds of the universities and emasculating freedom of the press, the arts, and the sciences, the threat of fascism is the threat of sterility;

To the whole American people, be they Democrat or Republican or Socialist or Communist, or of any belief in between, to whom fascism would mean an end to democracy while turning the country into a vast military camp, with Birch Society "Co-ordinators" to staff this Garrison State and the economy ruined by an insane nuclear war, the threat of fascism is a threat to America itself.

America is indeed in danger. The unity of the whole people, and nothing less, is required to safeguard our form of democracy, and the people of the world, from the Un-Americans of the ultra Right.

Bishop Horace Donegan, of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of New York, has warned that, "To call such programs (of the Birchites) which sow seeds of suspicion and ill will 'conservative' is a misnomer."

"They endeavor to reverse our American tradition of democracy and civil rights," the Right Reverend Bishop Donegan said, "to paralyze our Federal Government in its promotion of the general welfare and in other ways to turn back the clock of our national history and experience."

The urgency of the fascist offensive is the urgency of history. Frantic, because of the growth of freedom, the fascists wish not only to turn the clock back," but to smash the clock.

It is a great moment of history that we are witnessing.

Everywhere the people of the world are freeing themselves from the chains of exploitation of man by his fellow man. Im-

perialism is dying. The old colonialist sweet talking and bitter exploiting of the majority of the earth's people by a minority, is ending. Africa, Asia, Latin America—everywhere there are new, independent nations and a new spirit of freedom.

Socialism, a new system of life, where no man owns the labor of another man and thus cannot exploit him, is rising.

Socialism builds a factory to make shoes, for the Government of a former colony, where the children have been shoeless for centuries. Whose freedom does this threaten? It threatens, to be sure, the profits of the shoe cartels (and their peace—of mind—too, I imagine). But if a child on the Nile has a new pair of shoes, is the peace and security of the citizens of Boise, Idaho, threatened?

Socialism offers to disarm, by proposing total world disarmament, if the Pentagon agrees to convert its world-wide H-bomb bases into playing fields. Is the prospect of reducing our 45 billion dollar war budget and really reducing the burden of the income tax a threat to the "Internal Security" of *your* home?

Socialism says: Let's compete in peace and see which way of life can do the most for its people and for mankind. Does this threaten your freedom?

Freedom is not threatened by Socialism, but by fascism. Democracy is not threatened by Socialism, but by fascism.

YOU are not threatened by Socialism, but by fascism!

War is not inevitable. Peace is attainable. With patience and with perseverance we can find the "common language" of peace that Premier Khrushchev of the Soviet Union has urged.

"We *have* to find a common language on certain questions," the Soviet Premier has said. "The question of the struggle for peace, for the preservation of peace, is a question that concerns all men throughout the world, irrespective of the social or political structure of states."

Peace is what the fascists fear and hate. It is peace that "the fascist revival" has been organized to defeat.

* * *

Once upon a time, the Government of the United States was engaged in a life and death struggle with world fascism.

It was not so long ago, as history goes, yet it seems like an eternity of time. We fought a hard fight. We, together with our Soviet and British and French and Chinese allies, and the democratic peoples of the earth, won that war.

Peace came. Sweet peace.

Who could blame the American people, if like people everywhere, they wished to forget the horrors of war and the evils of fascism?

There was a headline, I remember, in the Chicago Sun, on the 23rd of September, 1945, that expressed how people felt. It read:

**SOME SEEM TO THINK END OF WAR MADE
THE FASCISTS NO LONGER OUR ENEMIES**

History, however, will not be put off by wishful thinking. Just as the Civil War, so too the War Against Fascism, was a victory in the battle, not an end to the fight for the equality and freedom of humanity.

Just as the American people rallied to defeat fascism overseas a generation ago, they can rise to defeat "the fascist revival" here at home. Once again believers in American democracy have allies throughout the world and these allies are now wiser, stronger, and more numerous than ever before.

Let our answer to the fascist attack on democracy be to increase democracy, equality, and freedom!

Let our answer to the fascist onslaught on civil liberties be to defend the democratic traditions of America !

Let our answer to the fascist cry of "War Now!" be "Peace Now!"

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